

HAWAIIAN GAZETTE

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CHARLES S. CRANE, Manager.

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ARMY OBSERVER'S VIEW OF PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

That the Filipinos have not the capacity for self-government and that tremendous injustice would be done the various races of the Philippines by forcing what would practically be "mestizo rule" upon them, is the opinion of Capt. George H. Shelton, U.S.A., expressed in an article in the January number of the North American Review. Captain Shelton prefaces his criticism of the Filipinos by stating that he has lived in five of the largest islands of the group for three years and has been for five years in close touch with Philippine affairs, and necessarily a student of them.

"I like the Filipinos, and number many of them as friends," he says. "I count myself their friend; and I speak as their friend when I say that they are lacking now, individually and collectively, in the capacity for self-government, and particularly for self-government under Republican forms, and that, left to themselves, chaos will sooner or later inevitably result." The military observer bases his conclusions principally on the fact that the Filipinos are Malay and a tropical people, and no where have tropical peoples yet carried self-government to success. Most of them, indeed, are still subject races, without thought in a wide sense of anything different. Again, excepting the aboriginal Negritos, a vanishing stock without future, the mass of Filipinos is pure or nearly pure Malay. As an item of heredity, there is no case in history where the Malay of himself has been able to create a government, or has done ought to advance the arts of civilization. Yet in justice we are interested here in a different order of Malay peoples than the general run. Excepting the pagan tribes and the Moros, some seven-eighths of the inhabitants of the Philippines, or nearly seven million in number, are Christians, who for more than three centuries have been under the tutelage of Western Christian civilization. It is this great majority that is meant ordinarily by the term Filipinos, and it is this body that concerns us now.

"Much has been written of the Filipinos during the last twenty years, and much of the testimony is favorable. Most of the Americans who since 1898 have visited the islands speak well of them. They are quiet, moral—albeit, perhaps, in another than Western sense—generous and hospitable, and devoted to their families. Taken young, they are easily led, easily educated, and develop under training marvelous manual dexterity. They are highly imitative. They love music. They are sensitive. Well led, they have shown marked loyalty—to persons rather than causes—and denied the characteristic of treachery imputed to the Malay. Well led, also, they have shown marked physical courage.

"Now these are all desirable qualities, but are they sufficient of themselves to assure capacity for separate nationality, much less for maintenance of popular self-government? A people easily led may, it is true, be easily governed. The United States since the establishment of civil government has found few practical difficulties in governing the Filipinos. But easy control of peoples easily led is dependent upon the number and power of leaders. People easily led in one direction are easily led in another, and with the development of different and equally powerful leaders, division and corresponding difficulty in control might readily follow. Generosity, morality, hospitality, and the other qualities enumerated do not of themselves signify capacity for progress or self-control. For leadership, for progress in any line, there must be always energy and initiative. And unfortunately no one has testified to the possession of energy and initiative by the Filipinos. No one can—the Filipinos do not possess them; they lack them utterly.

"But the lack of these qualities, it may be said, is asserted, not established. Exceptions occur to all. Rizal, the Filipino martyr; Aguinaldo, who led the insurrection; the crippled Mabini, his minister and intellect; Bonifacio, the illiterate but powerful chief of the Katipunan, who died because in Aguinaldo's way; Antonio Luna, war minister of the Malolos government, who died for the same reason; Sixto Lopez, the insurgent emissary to the United States; Azeneto, chief justice of the islands; Arellano, attorney general; Speaker Osmena of the assembly; Manuel Quezon, the active commissioner representing the Philippines in the congress of the United States; Agripay, the leader of the Philippine Church; Sumulong, Legarda, de Tavera, Lim, Mapa, all prominent in public life, in literature, in medicine, or law—all these and others have revealed energy and initiative in many different directions. And there are native-born, outside of public life and the learned professions, engaged in commerce, agriculture, or industry, that have shown these qualities finely in their own lines of work. Assuredly energy and initiative are essential to independent existence, but how, in the face of these notable examples, is it possible to deny their possession to the Filipinos? The answer is simple. It is nothing against the native-born named and all the others that might be named to say that they establish nothing for the Filipinos, since they themselves—are not Filipinos. This is the fundamental fact of blood that tells the whole story of the Philippines. These and every native-born that has reached distinction in any line, that has even of himself attained mediocrity, are mestizos—mixed of blood. The strain that has given them the desire to advance, to struggle, to succeed, is not Malay, not Filipino; it is foreign.

"If we turn the islands adrift, if we leave them to the dominance of a few thousand Chinese part-bloods, will they attempt to give the Filipinos a future in this way? It does not seem likely. The Chinese mestizo despises the Chinese as only a relative can. Will they attempt to find a future in some other way for the pure-blood native? To raise him to their standard, socially and politically? It seems equally unlikely. The mestizo despises the pure of blood as only the mixed can. What, then, will be the outcome? Class control, first of all; then class hatred; and then—chaos."

Captain Shelton elaborates this view by going into the details of the Malolos government, established by Aguinaldo, which was, as proved by the records of that government seized by the Americans, republican only in name. In fact it was and was intended to be an oligarchy. The men who controlled in that government would be the men, or men of the same class, who would control in whatever independent government might be given the Filipinos at any time in the near future. It would be a group of the same governing mestizos and "nothing was further from their thoughts than the maintenance of a government that should admit to equality with them, either socially or politically, the voiceless mass of the Filipino peoples.

"A government by them today would be no different. For so long as it lasted it would be no more than a mestizo oligarchy in absolute and selfish control of seven million Filipinos. Their blood, their training, and their practice establish this. Neither the welfare of the Filipino nor the pride of the American is to be preserved by helping to such an end."

When will Keoloha reach his climax? His last fantastic turn has been to introduce a resolution at a supervisory meeting in Hilo to set aside money for the purchase of a new automobile for himself. What a wonder this fellow would have been if he had only known that honesty is the best policy, even for a politician.

THE MEXICAN MENACE.

W. Morgan Shuster, in his latest article on international affairs in the current number of the Century, deals with the attitude of the Washington administration towards Mexico in a manner that appears certain to attract very wide attention. He styles his comments "The Mexican Menace" because the situation south of the Rio Grande and the American attitude involves not only our relationship with fourteen million fellow-Americans, he says, but "our prestige, influence and amity with the wealthiest and most powerful nations of the civilized world hang in the balance." Mr. Shuster believes that President Wilson correctly interpreted American public opinion when he announced that there would be no recognition of President Huerta, but he failed to appreciate what would happen after Huerta refused to be counted out on the moral score, as he has.

The solution of the Mexican problem, as proposed by Mr. Shuster, is for the United States to invite the leading powers to participate in a joint disciplinary invasion of Mexico, the very threat of which might bring warring Mexico to her senses; the performance of which certainly would. Single action by the United States would mean war with a united Mexico; joint action by the Powers, led by the United States would not result in war, as Mexico could not expect to fight the world and there would be no disgrace in the leaders of all the factions bowing to the inevitable and stopping their fighting long enough to return to their sober senses.

"Moral intervention" has failed, says the writer, "and in the same category must be placed the tenuous hopes which have been unofficially expressed that some rebel or Constitutional leader would show himself sane enough and strong enough to receive recognition as a belligerent, or possibly to take Mexico City from Huerta, and afford an opportunity to recognize the captor as an ad-interim executive. Unfortunately, if Huerta should abdicate tomorrow, or if any rebel leader in Mexico now known to the world should take Mexico City, there is no reason to believe that the general situation throughout that unfortunate land would be substantially altered. Such a new dictator, whatever he might style himself, would be faced by the same local or internal problems, jealousies, and hatreds which have afflicted and obstructed Huerta. There would still be Constitutionalists in arms against the new 'insider.' Bandits accustomed to live on the country would hardly lay down their weapons and suddenly take to a life of prayer and fasting. Disappointed candidates for the office of generalissimo of the Constitutionalist army would promptly go to the hills and shout, 'Down with the new upstart!' In other words, some form of foreign intervention and assistance will be just as necessary then as it is now; probably even more so."

Mexico needs a breathing spell, a reasonable respite from internecine strife and butchery brigandage paraded in the guise of patriotism. If there are solid and sane elements in the political maelstrom, they must be given an opportunity to assert themselves in calmer waters. Regarding this, Mr. Shuster says:

"Mexico can secure this respite within any reasonable time in one of only two ways: either by the sudden and miraculous agreement of all the factions and people on some one leader who can secure the recognition of the powers, or by forcible outside interference to such extent as to secure comparative peace while a plan is devised for holding an election under foreign supervision, with the understanding that the successful candidate will be placed and held in power, if necessary, by foreign bayonets. Otherwise, the world may expect the same sickening story of Madere ever again.

It is for these reasons that some positive plan of action seems wiser than the present policy of waiting for something to turn up, for the miracle to happen. Day by day the country is being devastated, railroads are destroyed, houses and crops burned, innocent men, women and children killed, while various generals direct their motley armies against the federal troops. There is no agreement as to what will happen even if the rebels succeed. If, then, there could ever be any justification for foreign intervention in Mexico, surely the time has arrived. Why delay until an army of undertakers and sextons would be the only appropriate force?

If the powers of the world have not yet made up their minds that they would be justified in intervening in Mexico, then they should retire from any interference whatsoever with Mexican affairs, express no opinions on the merits, warn their citizens and subjects to flee, and allow Huerta, Carranza, Pancho Villa, and half a dozen others to fight it out to a finish.

But if the powers have decided that it is their right to intervene at some time, not only to protect their subjects and their property, but, as some express it, in the name of humanity, then no international suspicions or sparring for position should be allowed to delay the practical execution of the idea.

The United States, as the nation most vitally concerned, could perfectly well take the ground that patience had now ceased to be a virtue from any point of view, and propose to the other powers, interested in a joint ultimatum to the Huerta government and all others in arms in Mexico. This notification should call for an immediate cessation of hostilities and foreshadow the designation by the powers of a provisional executive, who should have full power to prepare the ground for a general election for a President and federal congress (he himself being held ineligible), the election to be conducted under the supervision of foreign commissioners. Warning should be given in the ultimatum that failure to accept these terms would be followed by an international expeditionary force which would take the country under military control pending such time as order could be restored and valid elections held. This would be very blunt diplomacy, but it would be more efficacious than mere suasion.

IN TIME OF PEACE, PREPARE FOR PEACE.

The Public, a Chicago publication, devoted to the Single Tax propaganda and to war against war, believes that now is the time for the United States to strike a paralyzing blow at Japan that will forever remove the Japanese war bogey and complete the safety of the Pacific Coast. "Japan is sorely afflicted," says the public. "This is our opportunity to strike. Burdened already to the very limit of endurance by the cost of the Russo-Japanese war, crop failures have left millions of her people at the point of starvation. And now is added the horrors of volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and tidal waves. Seldom does such an opportunity come to a nation to overcome its opponent. This is our chance to render Japan forever harmless. One bold stroke now, and our Pacific Coast will be as safe from Japanese invasion as the State of Colorado. This is the psychological moment. We may never again have such an opportunity.

"But it is not with dreadnoughts or super-dreadnoughts that the blow must be struck. It is not by any form of force that the Japanese are to be overwhelmed. Physical blow will provoke physical blow in return. Were we to overawe Japan today with a great armada, she would assume yet greater burdens, she would starve yet other millions of her people to retaliate. But by sending her shiploads of food instead of shiploads of guns and armed men, we shall by one blow disarm her. The cost of a single battleship spent for food to save these starving men, women and children will do more to render our coast safe from attack than all the dreadnoughts we could launch. The price of one battleship expended in succoring these unfortunate people will save the building of twenty battleships in the future. Will our congress rise to the occasion? Never has a nation had a better opportunity to show its real worth."

Hawaii with her Volcano scene and Maui with her Silver Sword display will attract lots of attention in the Floral Parade at Honolulu. But just wait until Kauai's Spouting Horn turns the corner! It will be something new—and that is what the people will be looking for.—Garden Island.

LIFTING THE EMBARGO—IS IT WISE?

There is more or less difference of opinion among military men here as to the wisdom of the policy of permitting the unrestricted importation of arms and ammunition and munitions of war into Mexico. While the Federal party had been able to purchase these supplies abroad, the dubious finances of the government and the practical blockade of Mexican ports by United States warships had the effect of causing foreign armors to go very slow in selling their wares to Huerta.

While the lifting of the embargo and the open exportation of arms into that troubled country may relieve the American troops on the border of some of their more onerous duties in preventing smuggling, it may prove a greater evil in the end. Whether this policy meets with the approval of the war department is not stated, but it seems more than likely that it does not. However, with the memory of the Carabao incident fresh in mind, it is hardly likely that any of the war department officials, or any of the officers of the army at large will be in any great hurry to criticize the action of the President, even from a professional standpoint.

Various general officers of the army who have been quoted from time to time have all been agreed that in case of armed intervention in Mexico by the United States, a long drawn-out guerilla warfare would probably result before all the malcontents were subdued. Business men who have been forced to leave that country, writers, statesmen and others who are familiar with the situation south of the Rio Grande are almost to a man of the opinion that the Mexicans will never be able to settle their differences, and that intervention by the United States, either alone or with other Powers, is inevitable. Several times it has been a near thing, and all the mobile troops in the country were under orders to be prepared to leave for the front, and the railways held the necessary transportation ready for emergency. Although a division of our army has been mobilized and on duty on the border since 1910, there are no greater immediate prospects of crossing the border today than at any time during the whole disturbance. But, it is well to remember that the unexpected may upset the present state of affairs any day and require immediate action, and the whole face of the situation will be changed for the United States.

If such a thing should happen, and who can say that it will not, and if the Mexicans put up anything like a united front to resist intervention by this country, then to the army will fall the pleasant task of recapturing the arms and munitions of war now being shipped across our border in tremendous quantities.

Just what the effort to recapture such arms means, ask the officers and soldiers who took part in the campaigns on Luzon, and in the long chase after Datto Ali in the Rio Grande valley of Mindanao, after Otoy and Papa Pablo on Samar or Faustina Ablin on Leyte. Remember the loss of life in the big fights at Mount Dajo and Bagak on Jolo. All of these were caused by the possession of a comparatively few firearms in the hands of irreconcilables and their following.

It is quite possible that President Wilson and his advisers are in possession of information which has convinced them of the wisdom and advisability of this action, and that the result of the free importation of arms into Mexico will result in a speedy termination of the long continued turmoil. Such a consummation, without armed intervention by our country is to be devoutly hoped for, but should it prove that the possession of arms in unlimited quantities only serves to augment the almost intolerable condition of affairs in the Republic, then it would seem that the mistake of a decade ago in our Philippine administration has been repeated.

BOND ISSUES AND BORROWED MONEY FOR ROADS.

Under the conditions of modern society the employment of labor may be classified under three general heads, the production of the necessities of life, of luxuries, and of instruments of production. It has been estimated that the labor required for the annual increase in instruments of production to take care of the normal ratio of growth of population and business in the United States exceeds one billion dollars. The product of labor so transformed becomes capital, but in addition there must be liquid capital to use in the operation of farms, factories, machine shops and railroads, for no instrument of production is self-impelled.

Capital that is used for the creation of new wealth may be either the stored accumulations, or savings, of the years of labor that have gone before, or, they may be drafts on the future—bonds and other forms of securities the purchasing power of which is based on reasonable expectations of future profits.

The bond issues of a nation or of a community do not constitute a part of the wealth of that community except in so far as the capital borrowed through bond issues has been properly expended to increase the investments of production. Contra to this it is a common error to assume that because bonds or other loan securities of a community "sell" at a good price they become an asset. The confusion is one of terms, of definitions, and arises because the average citizen "sells" his labor or his commodities to secure that surplus over costs that is called "a profit." The community that "sells" bonds makes no profit. The bond is not an asset. It is a liability, a mortgage against the future. State bonds are but an incarnation of the faith of the citizens of the state in what the future has in store for them. The realization of that faith depends on the manner in which they expend or invest the proceeds of the bonds.

A city bonded for one million dollars! What does it mean? Was that million invested in instruments of production, or did the citizens selfishly use it to fill their own bellies?

Capital and labor used for the production of the necessities of life are totally consumed except as each produces a surplus, a profit. All that is used for the production of luxuries is wasted, because in the consumption of luxuries there is no surplus, no saving capable of retransformation into instruments of production.

Roads are instruments of production, but roads built for the purpose of giving employment to labor and capital without other immediate consideration, or future plan, are neither necessities of life nor instruments for the production of anything but waste and trouble.

Before the Territory of Hawaii, the City and County of Honolulu or any other county in this Territory sets out to bond itself and mortgage its future prosperity for road construction or for any other purpose there must be a clear and definite understanding as to whether this Territory is to add to its capacity for producing wealth by rightly spending the borrowed capital. Has Hawaii attained that degree of civic proficiency in the expenditure of public funds that will enable every man who travels on the public highways to exclaim: "This is my road. I borrowed the money to build it. It has increased my earning capacity. I am going to pay back the loan before it is due, because having this fine road makes it possible for me to do so!" When we realize that a road is an instrument of production—when all realize what it is that we are trying to produce—by all means let us borrow money, and build good roads.

THE FUTURE CONTINUES BRIGHT.

One of Hawaii's leading plantation men asks the pertinent question, "Does it pay to look at the future of this Territory through smoked glasses?" Hawaii has solved a lot of big problems, and it is the solution of big problems that creates big men. There may be many readjustments all along the line during the next ten years, but those who have helped in the industrial development of this Territory, since annexation, since the overthrow, since the reciprocity treaty, and since the whaling days—the men who have dreamed, mirrored and then made them come true—have no cause to be downhearted at what is ahead. It takes brains, pluck, determination and imagination to make success, and the man who puts on smoked glasses when he looks ahead at the breakers will wake up to find that some alert-eyed youngster has usurped the leadership."

PROBE PROBERS
START TO WORK

Will Set Good Example By Doing
Whatever They Do Without
Charging for It.

(Mail Special to The Advertiser.)

HILO, February 8.—The probe committee, which was appointed last week by the board of supervisors to probe the probe commission, which has been probing the accounts of the County of Hawaii, held its first meeting last Friday afternoon, and is now hard at work.

The commission was appointed by virtue of a resolution introduced by Supervisor Kanehwa, the original members being R. T. Guard, G. H. Vickers, J. T. Shipman, A. M. Cabrinas and H. B. Mariner, but the latter withdrew, and Attorney Harry Irwin was appointed in his place.

In its first meeting the committee followed the praiseworthy policy followed by the probe commission, and decided to hold its meetings without mystery and without attempting to keep its doings away from the knowledge of the public. The committee organized by electing Guard to be its chairman and Cabrinas to be secretary.

Irwin moved that a subcommittee of two be named and that it report to the main committee with a detailed report of the probe commission accounts and Shipman moved that the two subcommittees be Guard and Vickers.

"How are you going to get hold of the commission's accounts?" asked Guard.

"I think that they are open to the public," replied Irwin. "However, I think it will be the courteous thing to write to the chairman of the commission asking him to facilitate the work of this committee as far as he can."

A Suspicious Item.

Cabrinas produced a copy of the report made by the probe commission to the board of supervisors, making a full statement of the various items of expense incurred by the commission, a copy of which was published in the Tribune.

He said that there was therein an item for thirty dollars paid to Hack-driver Foster, which, he thought, would bear investigation. He thought it would be found that the \$30 had been paid for things other than the services of the Foster chauffeur.

"I want to bring up the question of the expenses of the commission," said Irwin as the meeting was about to adjourn. "I see that the supervisors have set aside an appropriation of five hundred dollars to pay for the expenses of this commission. Personally, I would like to see this committee do its work without charging a cent for its services. That would give our report ever so much more force and strength, if it was known that we were doing our work gratis."

"It was my idea right along that we should do our work without charging for it," said Shipman. "The \$500 we should use only for actual expenses." The rest of the committee took the same public-spirited view.

Representative Has Scheme for
Increasing Business with South
and Central America.

WASHINGTON, January 29.—A project for making part of the Panama Canal Zone a free territory with a view to establishing there a sort of clearing house of North, Central and South American commerce, is being worked out by Representative Copley of Ohio, who will shortly present it to congress in the form of a bill. The "bill" is along the general lines of a free zone arrangement tried out in Hamburg, Hongkong and Singapore.

Mr. Copley, who recently returned from a trip to Panama, has discussed the scheme with various officials and members of congress. He said tonight he believed that after the canal has been in operation for five years all nations will be ready to agree that there shall be joint action to protect the canal, and that the United States have exclusive right to it as one belligerent in the event of any war with any other Power. By that time, he added, there will be no reason why warehouses should not be built in the zone by manufacturers in the United States.

"A few manufacturers," Mr. Copley said, "could get together and send down a full cargo of goods, put it into a warehouse and from there ship to all parts of the world. Young men trained by business houses and taught the Spanish language could be sent to the various cities of South and Central America to induce merchants to go to Panama to inspect the wares from the United States. This project would open up a great commercial field and a splendid opportunity for great and small business."

SOME OBSERVATIONS
FROM ADMIRAL MOORE

"Some Observations" is the subject upon which Admiral C. B. T. Moore, commandant of the local naval station, will address the Ad Club at the noon luncheon today. Admiral Moore is in an excellent position to point his address with "some" observations, having the advantage of being a kamaaina and knowing what is what about local affairs, with the added advantage of being in a position where he can speak as he thinks without fear of being misunderstood.

In avoiding a collision with a hack driven by S. Dias at the corner of King and Punchbowl streets yesterday afternoon, B. Murakama at the wheel of automobile 1410 crashed into a telephone pole breaking his wind shield. Particles of the flying glass struck his passenger, H. Haraka, under the left eye, causing a deep wound.